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AUTHOR Moroishi, Yasumi
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ABSTRACT

This study explores postwar educational reform in Japan from 1945 to 1952 and focuses on issues related to women's higher education. It describes the transformation of the educational system and the effect of the educational reforms of U.S. occupation forces on post-World War II Japan. The basic research design emphasizes narrative historical research supplemented by the interpretive approach. Data collection includes books, journal articles, government documents, and newspaper articles about educational policies. A description of the Japanese educational system, especially the hierarchical structure of educational administration, provides the basis for an understanding of the problem of the historical inadequacy of higher education for Japanese women. While the Ministry insisted on the importance of traditional Japanese gender roles, it went on to announce the outline of educational reforms for women in December 1945, and four women were accepted into the University of Tokyo in 1946. In the end, educational policies for women's education were directly related to policies developed for the improvement of women's rights. (Contains 30 references.) (BT)

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Yasumi Moroishi

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Women in Higher Education in Post WWII Occupied Japan: The Effect of Democratic Reforms

Introduction

My research deals with postwar educational reform in Japan from 1945 to 1952, and focuses particularly on issues related to women's higher education. It describes the transformation of the educational system, and the effect of the educational reforms of America's Occupation Forces on post-World War II Japan. In addition, I will discuss the reactions of the Japanese government to the reform of higher education, conflicts between the Occupation forces' policies and the Japanese government, and the effect of democratic reforms on Japanese higher education for women.

Women's Education in Prewar Japan

The American Occupation Forces were not the first in Japanese history to attempt to make educational reforms. Prior to the occupational reform, the Meiji (1869 - 1911) government built what would become the basic foundation of modern Japanese education, and these reforms had a high level of influence on women's higher education. An understanding of the educational reforms of the prewar era puts one in a better position to assess the reforms made under the period of American Occupation. Thus, the following

chapter will consider the history and politics of the development of women's higher educational institutions such as women's colleges and normal schools from 1868 to 1945.

Modern Japanese education began in 1868. The Tokugawa government (1603 – 1868) virtually closed the country to the outside world from 1636 to 1854 by barely communicating and making contact with other countries. Isolating the country caused the domestic culture to flourish but, on the other hand, it caused Japan to fall behind other nations in terms of industrialization and the development of international relationships. When the Meiji leaders took the political power from the Tokugawa government, they attempted to catch up to Western countries. They sent scholars and politicians abroad to observe Western countries and learn about culture and technology from abroad. After observing educational systems in Western countries, the Meiji leaders believed that education would be a strong tool to promote their reforms (Naka, Ito, & Uchida, 1984). They tried to employ Western knowledge and ethics in the educational system and avoid traditional Japanese values. To the Meiji leaders modernization meant "copying" from Western countries, and it was this narrow definition that characterized the military and economic development in the early Meiji period (1868 – mid 1870's).

In 1872 the Fundamental Code of Education (*Gakusei*) was promulgated, giving both males and females equal access to an elementary school education. Lower elementary schools were four year, and higher elementary schools offered an additional four years of education. Thus, four years of coeducational elementary school became compulsory. However, the issue of segregation between males and females had not yet been discussed. The secondary and college education system was still not developed. Policies regarding students' entrance qualifications, the length of the school year, and curriculum for middle

schools and colleges were not set. During this time the government emphasized the females' importance to go to school as a way of overcoming the traditional Japanese belief that females did not need an education (Shibukawa, 1970). The establishment of the modern educational system created an urgent need to train teachers. Therefore, normal schools were established earlier than the Fundamental Code of Education and were under the direct administration of The Ministry of Education.

The Fundamental Code of Education was primarily aimed at elementary schools and normal schools. There is an interesting novel, "Cloud above the Hill (*Saka no ue no kumo*)" written by Ryotaro Shiba who is a well-known historical novelist in Japan. While the main theme of this novel is not Japanese modern education in the early Meiji (1868 – 1911), it is a well-written chronicle of the efforts and struggles of the Japanese government's modernization from 1868 (the Meiji Restoration) to 1905 (the Japan-Russia War). In some parts, confusion concerning the educational system in the early Meiji period (1868 – 1911) is described. One of the main characters, who later becomes a significant military officer, enters a normal school. Normal schools were free education, and since the duration of the curriculum was yet not determined, some students graduated after a year and some took a few years to graduate. Schools did not set application deadlines either. It seemed that young people from poor socio-economic classes (mainly the lower warrior class) went to normal schools to take advantage of a free education and a job upon graduation. In 1874 the first women's normal school was established in Tokyo. It developed into one of the major institutions for women's higher education prior to WWII, and it continues to serve that function until today.

In 1879 the Ministry of Education instituted segregation between males and females after elementary school, which meant that women did not have access to the same quality of higher learning as men. Women first had access to higher education prior to WWII in the form of teacher's schools or normal schools because it was necessary to train women as teachers to build-up the elementary and secondary school system.

In 1900 the Joshi Eigaku Juku (known today as Tsuda College) was established by Umeko Tsuda, and in 1901 Nihon Women's College was established by Jinzo Naruse. Both studied abroad in the US. Since then, the number of women's colleges has increased; all of them developed by means of private sector funding, particularly from Christian groups.

Since fewer than one percent of women went on to postsecondary education in pre-WWII Japan, it can hardly be said that higher education for women was commonly recognized (Fujimura-Fanselow & Imamura, 1991). Women's colleges did not have the same prestige as other men's universities and colleges, and women were not allowed to enter the imperial universities except in rare instances.

There are several reasons why participation in higher education did not take hold for women. 'To be a good wife and a wise mother' (*ryosai kenbo*) was the central ideology that had dominated education for women in modern Japanese education, and this conservative virtue continues to the present. 'To be a good wife and a wise mother' required patience, obedience, and modesty. In general, parents did not encourage daughters to pursue education, rather they thought education was harmful for women because it might encourage them to think more independently and reject prevailing traditional ethics.

This conservative view was also strongly connected to nationalism based on the modern imperial system (Tachi, 1975). In particular, from the late 19th century to the

beginning of 20th century, the Meiji government started to shift their focus from 'catching up' or 'copying' Western culture and ideologies to the build-up of 'their own nation' based on Japanese tradition. During the Meiji period (1868 – 1911) Japan fought wars against both China and Russia. Fighting in these wars required imperial nationalism, military forces, and industrial resources. Education was also directed at supporting these factors in the war effort.

In 1885 Arinori Mori was appointed the first Minister of the Ministry of Education by the first Prime Minister, Hirobumi Ito. Mori strongly believed that education should be the backbone in the support of national development. He defined all levels of education as a tool for achieving political goals (Naka et al., 1984). To this end, in 1886 Mori announced the 'Imperial University Order', 'Normal School Order', 'Elementary School Order', and 'Middle School Order' and instituted the basic elite track of elementary school, middle school, and imperial university. Although Mori was concerned with teacher training, women's education in general was not a serious concern. Mori's nationalism had a continued influence on education, and promoted the traditional view of being 'a good wife and a wise mother'.

Therefore, both the content and structure of women's education was different from that of men. The curriculum for females included many hours of domestic work such as sewing. Women's motivation for learning was not understood or considered an important issue. The social and cultural barriers in prewar Japan were deeply embedded in Japanese culture.

Educational Reforms for Women

After Japan was defeated in the Pacific War by the US and unconditionally surrendered on September 2, 1945, the Occupation Forces of the Allies, lead by American troops, arrived in Japan and started the reconstruction of Japanese society in hopes of re-making it into a democratic society. During the final days of the war, education was put on hold. Children in metropolitan areas were forced to evacuate to rural villages. Air attacks leveled many school buildings. People faced hunger and a lack of housing all of which caused considerable mental chaos.

On August 28, 1945 the Ministry of Education encouraged Japanese citizens to reopen their schools. On September 15, 1945 the Ministry of Education issued "*Shin Nippon kensetsu no kyoiku hoshin* (Guidelines of educational reforms for the built-up of a new Japan)", and set out 11 basic guidelines for educational reform. These guidelines included changing the content of textbooks and the quality and effectiveness of school teachers. Although the Japanese government criticized their military dictatorship they did not attempt to abolish the emperor's authority. The guidelines indicated their strong desire to maintain Japanese traditions.

The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) General Douglas MacArthur considered education one of the most important factors in the attempt to democratize Japan. The Civil Information and Education Section (CI&E) was organized under SCAP's authority and was committed to educational reform. SCAP ordered the Japanese government to organize the Japanese Education Committee which was made up of Japanese educators. The Occupation Forces attempted to implement Japan's reforms by democratic means rather than using absolute occupational power. Irene Donovan and Lulu Holmes were appointed to the

women's education section of the CI&E, and Holmes was also made an advisor for women's higher education in July 1946 (Yamamoto, 1993).

In October, 1945 the Occupation Forces announced four orders for educational reforms: 1) the build-up of a democratic society and the abolishment of the military dictatorship, 2) improving the work of school teachers, 3) separation of religion (Shinto) from education, 4) and the research of moral education and social studies (Naka et al., 1984). These orders were not directly related to educational reform for women, but a single tracking educational structure (6-year elementary, 3-year junior high, 3-year high school, and 4-year college) similar to that in the US was adopted and had a significant influence on the improvement of equal educational opportunity. In particular, colleges including women's colleges (*senmon gakko*), imperial universities, normal schools, and higher schools were unified on the same level of higher education under the Occupation Forces' policies (Fujimura-Fanselow, 1981; Tsuchimochi, 1996). Moreover, coeducation was adopted for all levels of education, and all universities were compelled to open their doors to women. This unification of higher learning institutions and the adaptation of coeducation brought equal access to education and resulted in greater access to higher education for women (Fujimura-Fanselow & Imamura, 1991). The Occupation leaders believed that coeducation provided 1) equal opportunity for education, 2) equalization of educational content, and 3) a more liberal idea of equality between males and females. Accordingly, the education reforms were used to enhance political ends to promote democratization.

In addition, the Ministry of Education announced the outline of educational reforms for women (*Joshi Kyoiku Sasshin Yoko*) in December 1945. Under these guidelines, women's education was to offer equal opportunity in terms of educational content, and coeducation at

all levels of education was adopted to accomplish this. In addition, more women's colleges were required to encourage females to enter higher learning institutions. After the outline of educational reforms for women was announced, Donovan started to call for the implementation of equal educational opportunities for males and females.

The first U.S. Education Mission was sent in March 1946¹. The Mission published a report that suggested coeducation at all levels of education. The equalization of educational opportunity was made law when the Fundamental Law of Education was proclaimed on March 31, 1946. Consequently the Constitution of Japan was decreed on November 3, 1946 and an edict about education was specifically written in Article 26: "All people shall have the right to receive an equal education correspondent to their ability, as provided for by law. 2) All people shall be obligated to have all boys and girls under their protection receive ordinary education as provided for by law. Such compulsory education shall be free". The basic right of education became guaranteed by the Constitution and the Fundamental Law of Education was established as the centerpiece of educational policy.

The American Occupation of Japan and the educational policies it instituted significantly impacted and brought new influences into the Japanese educational system. Japan's educational system was reformed to bring it more in line with the new constitutional ideals, which were democratic control and egalitarianism (Schoppa, 1993).

¹ The Education Mission includes Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Princeton, Dr. Fred Ayer, University of Texas, Dr. Gordon Bowles, Director of Far Eastern Section, Cultural Relations Division, Department of States, Dr. Oliver Carmichael, Vanderbilt University, Dr. Ben Cherrington, University of Denver, Dr. Wilson Compton, Washington State College, Dr. George Diemer, Central Missouri State Teachers College, Dr. Guy Ford, University of Minnesota, Dr. Frank Freeman, University of California, Virginia Gildersleeve, Barnard College, Willard Givens, National Education Association, Alonzo Grace, Commissioner of Education, Connecticut, Dr. Frank Graham, University of North Carolina, Rufus Harris, Tulane University, Dr. Howard Jones, Fort Getty, R. I. Dr. Mildred McAfee, Wellesley College, Dr. Henry Moe, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, New York, Lieut Col. T.V. Smith, Fort Getty, R.I., Col. Francis Spaulding

But there were limitations to this goal because conflicts occurred between the Occupation Forces' policies and the Japanese government. For example, a member of one of the committees for educational reform expressed, "Home economics is the most important type of education for women, and a four-year curriculum is too long. A four-year curriculum is too long for women's liberal arts" (Sojinsha, 1982, Vol. 2, p286. the author's translation) which reflected a long tradition in Japanese education. As a result the Japanese government held a negative attitude toward implementing coeducation (Yamamoto, 1993). Accordingly, some in the government sought to exclude women from four-year universities by creating a women's track in higher education. The CI&E observed the Japanese government's hesitation toward coeducation and eventually decided to take action to legitimate coeducation and decided to implement it through the authority of the occupational force.

In 1950, junior colleges were established in order to make educational opportunity a reality for women, since few people could afford four-year schools. Also, for many parents it was unacceptable for their daughters to devote such a long time in study; therefore, the establishment of junior colleges was an important national policy in terms of meeting the goal of educational equality for women.

Yet, while women's participation in higher education significantly increased after WWII, many educational researchers, and even the Japanese government, have noted significant differences between male and female patterns of participation in four-year colleges and two-year junior colleges. A large proportion of women pursued higher education through junior college rather than through a four-year university experience. Even among those women who entered four-year universities, there was a tendency for women to enter the departments of literature, home economics, and education (Fujimura-Fanselow,

1989). No governmental policies, such as affirmative action recently practiced in the United States, had been implemented to deal with this problem and it is important to note that Fujimura-Fanselow (1989) has pointed out on more than one occasion written about the continual lack of research on women's education.

Problem Statement

Only a few scholars have done research on the issues of Japanese women's education, most notably Mary Brinton (1993), and Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow (1981, 1989, and 1991). These scholars have primarily investigated the Japanese social and cultural expectations for women, women's socioeconomic status, and unequal job opportunities between males and females. Brinton's book is a well-organized analysis of women in Japanese society, and it provides valuable information for non-Japanese scholars who have limited knowledge about Japanese society and Japanese culture. Fortunately for my study Tsuchimochi (1993) provides one of the most significant studies that focuses on the Occupation period of Japanese education.

In general, books about Japanese education pay little attention to women's issues and the political discourse surrounding equality in education. While they often mention some of the politics that affected women, they usually do not develop a critical perspective on women's education. For example, Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow's doctoral dissertation (Columbia University, 1981) is approximately 600 pages, but she spends only five pages describing postwar educational reforms in occupied Japan and Amano (1986c) does not cover postwar educational reforms under the Occupation Forces at all. It is surprising that there is so much research on prewar education for women in the Meiji (1968 – 1911) and

Taisho (1911 - 1925) periods, as well as postwar education after Japan's independence in 1952. However, there is considerably less research on the immediate postwar educational reforms for women's higher education that took place under the American Occupation Forces. Gender issues in higher education typically have not been examined as political discourse in Japan.

My dissertation will analyze the early years of the Occupation Forces' effort to establish a basic form of educational system in Japan, and how that effort relates to the educational policies promoting women's higher education. I will therefore look at the history of Japan's educational policies as a way of examining the larger context of the struggle for educational equality in Japanese society, and emphasize this through narrative historical research supplemented by an interpretive approach. This research also relates to cross-national studies. The history of modern Japanese education explores a dimension of the Japanese government's struggles to adopt a Western educational system and ideology. Educational policies are never separate from national development or political intention.

Research Questions

I will provide a background description of the Japanese educational system, especially the hierarchical structure of educational administration, that is based on the assumption that very little if anything is known about Japanese education by the average reader. This should provide the basis for an understanding of the problem of the historical inadequacy of higher education for Japanese women.

More specifically, my research will address the following questions:

1. How did Occupation Forces' policies toward the democratization of Japanese education influence women's higher education? I will investigate the following four areas:
 - Structure
 - Access
 - Process
 - Content
2. How did the Japanese government react to the Occupation forces' new policies for Japanese women in higher education?
3. What were the conflicts between the Occupation forces and the Japanese government? How did they deal with these conflicts?
4. Which American ideas persisted in Japanese education for women, and which ones were discarded? Why? What were the ultimate effects?
5. What were the political influences on women's higher education during the Occupation period?

More than 50 years have passed since the postwar education reforms under the American Occupation forces were implemented. As a result of these changes many people in Japan today take education and democracy for granted. In a paper for my Master's studies that I presented at a conference in Hong Kong (Moroishi, 1998, February), I focused on more of the current issues in Japanese women's higher education with an approach that is similar to the work of Fujimura-Fanselow (1981 & 1989 & 1991).

Beauchamp (1998) states, "There is no doubt that the Occupation of Japan (1945-1952) was a watershed of gigantic proportions in modern Japanese history and that it triggered significant changes in that nation's life" (p. 226). Women's higher education also faced massive transformation during this period as Japanese higher education was compelled to accept and adopt to the new ideologies and ethics. I believe that it is very important to examine women's higher education in post WWII occupied Japan.

Theoretical Framework

Politics and Higher Education: Edward Beauchamp's Contribution

Previous studies about modern Japanese higher education provide a variety of perspectives that have had considerable impact in the development of my theoretical framework. In particular is the work of Edward Beauchamp, a well-known educational historian who focuses on Japanese education. His many published articles and books show a deep understanding and knowledge of Japanese history. In addition, Beauchamp provides a critical summary of the history of prewar and postwar education. His analysis has been extremely helpful in laying the basic foundation for my study. Moreover, I have found Beauchamp's work particularly useful because of his clear summary of the history of Japanese education, and his analysis of postwar education reform in which he makes comparisons with another major reform that occurred in the 1870s. For Beauchamp, Japanese higher education in the prewar period was highly centralized, utilitarian, authoritarian, and based on multi-tracking. Moreover, he stresses that the policies of Japanese higher education were strongly related to the overall political demands of Japanese society. Beauchamp's brief summary of prewar education clearly demonstrates the contrast between prewar and postwar education.

Conflicts in educational reform

The primary purpose of the Occupation Forces' policies was to rebuild Japan into a peaceful and democratic nation. Abolishing ultra-nationalism and the military dictatorship was essential to accomplishing this purpose. New ideologies brought with them educational reforms, however the reforms struggled and were neither smooth nor uninterrupted.

A conflict occurred between the Occupation Forces' policies and those of the Japanese government. Schoppa (1993) states, "Conservatives, however, felt the Occupation had gone too far in some of its reforms. They were willing to reject the militarism of the wartime system and agreed with the need to extend compulsory education, but they stood ready to defend other essential features of the pre-war system. As anticipated earlier in this chapter, they were not ready to give up the Japanese ethic or the diversified rationality of the system which had done so much to propel the nation's pre-war economic advance" (p.34). Educational documents (Sojisha, 1984) in the early period of postwar educational reforms show a great gap between the US and Japanese positions. The issues which the Japanese government expected to maintain were the following: 1) traditional Japanese morality, 2) moral education (*shushin*), 3) centralized administration by the Ministry of Education, 4) some sort of elite course to be included in the five-year middle schools, and 5) vocational tracks (Schoppa, 1993). In short, the Japanese government strongly expected to maintain the Ministry of Education's centralized authority, multi-tracking educational system, traditional Japanese morality and ethics. In contrast, the Occupation forces planned for a liberal and decentralized educational system (Gluck, 1993). The directions of the Occupation Forces and the Japanese government seemed to be toward opposite goals, and this conflict of attitudes itself had an influence on the reform of women's higher education.

During the early days of educational reforms for women (October 1945), there was obvious confusion, and the Ministry of Education did not have a consistent approach toward women's higher education. While on one hand the Ministry of Education insisted on the importance of traditional Japanese gender roles, it went on to announce the outline of educational reforms for women in December 1945 (Nagahata, 1983) and four women were

accepted into the University of Tokyo in 1946. On the other hand, the thoroughgoing implementation of coeducation started in 1949 because of a lack of materials, facilities, and buildings.

The Japanese government tried to prevent drastic change by calling some of the Occupation Forces' policies 'excesses'. Interestingly they did not directly call them 'wrong' because the Japanese government knew direct conflicts with the Occupation Forces were not a good idea (Schoppa, 1993). Thus, even though structural change seemed successful and the American influence tended to dominate educational reforms, such changes did not cancel out prior Japanese traditions based on existing ideology.

Educational reform efforts during the period from 1945 to 1952 in Japan were implemented through the forceful direction, it needs to be pointed-out again, through the American Occupation Forces (Beauchamp, 1987). This was not Japan's first democratic movement. The democratic movement of the Taisho period had a significant influence on the educational system. Therefore, there was some foundation for accepting and adopting democracy in Japan. However, the Japanese government was extremely conservative. As indicated earlier, they were willing to abolish the military dictatorship but were still extremely focused on maintaining the political status of the emperor. Thus, their understanding of and willingness to adopt democracy was limited. Such conservatism also had an influence on women's higher education, and was the source of many conflicts surrounding educational reform.

Women and Higher Education

Despite the recent efforts of academic scholars studying Japanese education, the issues surrounding women's education in Japan have not yet been explored in English language literature. Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow is one of the few scholars who has consistently researched women's higher education in Japan since the completion of her doctoral dissertation in 1981.

Coeducation was one of the major issues that was promoted in the postwar higher education reforms under the policies of the American Occupation Forces. The Guidelines of Educational Reforms for Women (*Joshi kyoiku sasshin yoko*) declared that coeducation would be implemented so as to equalize the educational content males and females were exposed to. As a result of these policies, the major transition from post-secondary school segregation to coeducation at all levels prevented a smooth implementation from occurring. In reality there were only a few females being mixed with a majority of male students rather than real coeducation (Nakajima, 1978).

Although gender roles in the Meiji period were different than those of today, they still need to be given important consideration when scholarly research is being done on Japanese women's higher education. Most people too easily assume women will not continue in their occupation and instead will marry and have children, therefore, higher education is often directly associated with men's careers and is not considered appropriate for women. As a result, there are many women with college degrees who are unemployed or who continued to be homemakers.

In prewar Japan the Japanese government considered women's higher school as the final level of education for women. Although they discussed the establishment of an imperial

women's university in the Temporary Council of Education (*Rinji kyoiku kaigi*) during the 1910s, it was not established until the American Occupation Forces arrived in Japan. Policies for women's education in prewar Japan were aimed at preparing women for their role in the family (Amano, 1986b).

The education of women had less priority than that of men, and this trend is reflected in participation patterns in higher education (Fujimura-Fanselow & Imamura, 1991). Although women's higher education in Japan did not expand across the nation, it did open some opportunities for women to have occupations, such as school teachers. In addition, some highly educated women became involved with social movements during the Taisho (1911 – 1925) period. In the end, educational policies for women's education were directly related to policies developed for the improvement of women's rights (Yamamoto, 1993).

Research Method

My basic research design emphasizes narrative historical research that is supplemented by the interpretive approach. The interpretive approach relies on critical perspectives that consider politics and higher education, and women and higher education. Data collection includes books, journal articles, governmental documents and newspaper articles about educational policies. My research efforts will be significantly enhanced by my ability to read and write in both Japanese and English. Also, my five years of experience working for the Japanese librarian, Ms. Sachié Noguchi, in the East Asian Library at the University of Pittsburgh has helped my library research skills and knowledge about data collection. Additionally, Ms. Noguchi has a strong commitment to provide assistance to

scholars and students studying Japan, and has provided considerable assistance in my research so far.

The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in College Park, Maryland is accessible, and The MacArthur Memorial in Norfolk, Virginia also has documents and published books about WWII. For instance, Burkman (1980) is published by the MacArthur Memorial and will be a valuable source in my research. Tsuchimochi (1993) provides information about various sources on education during this period. For example, the Section for Historical Documents on Education, the National Institute for Educational Research of Japan and, especially the Modern Political History Materials Room in the National Diet Library in Tokyo would be helpful and accessible.

The National Institute for Educational Research of Japan has researched many of the historical documents about Japanese education housed in the US that deals with the American Occupation period. This research team, composed of eight Japanese scholars, including Dr. Tsuchimochi who has been appointed by Toyo Eiwa Jogakuin Junior College. They spent two years completing this research and visited the US twice during that period. In addition, primary data were copied and preserved on microfilm, and they published their research reports and results (Sato & Kokuritsu Kyoiku Kenkyujo, 1988). Historical documents that relate to educational reform in Japan under the American Occupation exist in 32 institutions scattered throughout 25 states in the US². Some of these will be a rich source for my future work on this study.

² 32 institutes includes the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace in Stanford, California, University of Denver in University Park Denver, Colorado, Central Missouri State University in Warrensburg, Missouri, Harry S. Truman Library in Nashville, Tennessee, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), U.S. Library Congress, The Catholic University of America in Washington, D. C., National Education Association Archives, Washington National Records Center (WNRC) and University of Maryland in Maryland, The MacArthur Memorial Library and Archives in Virginia, The University of Georgia and Emory University in Georgia, Columbia University, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and The Rockefeller Foundation Archives in

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